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at the top with yucca-leaf strands. Over them a thatching of bundles of big bluestem grass or bear grass is tied, shingle style, with yucca strings. A smoke hole opens above a central fireplace. A hide, suspended at the entrance, is fixed on a cross-beam so that it may be swung forward or backward. The doorway may face in any direction. For waterproofing, pieces of hide are thrown over the outer thatching, and in rainy weather, if a fire is not needed, even the smoke hole is covered. In warm, dry weather much of the outer roofing is stripped off. It takes approximately three days to erect a sturdy dwelling of this type. These houses are "warm and comfortable, even though there is a big snow."

The interior is lined with brush and grass beds over which robes are spread. Household equipment is utilitarian and minimal. Basketry receptacles include coiled shallow trays, large twined burden baskets for gathering wild foods, and pitch-covered woven water containers. There may be a few clay pots, unpainted and only occasionally incised. There are gourd cups and hide, gourd, and wooden dishes. Surplus food and clothing are stored in undecorated, envelope-like hide receptacles (parfleches). Ready for use are a metate and a cigar-shaped mano (as often as not of ancient Pueblo manufacture), stone and bone pounders, an awl, rawhide or horsetail hair ropes and tumplines, a fire drill, and combs made of dried and folded grass or mescal leaf.

In or around the camp are objects connected with horsemanship—saddles, bridles, bits, quirts, and saddlebags. Conspicuous, too, are weapons of war and chase—the bow and arrows, quiver, bow cover, shield, wrist guard, spear, sling, flint knives, and clubs.

Ceremonial objects—the pottery drum, a deer- or elk-hoof rattle, buckskin bags of pollen and other sacred substances, and the particular paraphernalia attached to the rites of the individuals of the household—are present but are less likely to be displayed.

The dwelling may contain a musical instrument or two not

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But it must not be overlooked that a person's supernatural experiences are often conditioned by his special abilities. Those who excel in warfare, for instance, are likely to attribute their success to supernatural help and to seek evidence that their actions are divinely guided. There consequently takes place a convergence of prowess in war and "power" for war.

Women are not barred from the acquisition of supernatural power. "Women can have any power. I knew a woman who had power from the Mountain People. She directed the making of the dancers, just as any man does. She died at Fort Sill." Few ceremonial privileges are denied to a woman. She may not impersonate a Mountain Spirit or use the sweat lodge. But "there are many women shamans, and they are as powerful as men. Women are capable of conducting ceremonies on an equal footing with men."

The time of the acquisition of supernatural power.—Mundane knowledge alone is not considered a full guaranty of a satisfactory life. "The Apache has help for everything against which he has to contend." "We have shamans for all purposes. There is a ceremony for nearly everything in life. There are ceremonies for sickness, love, hunting, war, and so on. All these are recognized."

It is understandable, therefore, that every individual should anticipate the time when he will gain strength beyond his own or any human resource. The need for such assistance is sometimes felt very early in life. It will be remembered that a dreamer to whom reference has already been made placed the first dream to which he attributed importance at about his eighth year.[1] Another whose dream assumed ceremonial significance likewise experienced it during childhood:

> When I was a young boy, I had this experience and I was told that I would live to be an old man. Old age was promised to me, and I got it. The power told me, "You shall see your country again, but you shall be alone." I have lost my family, all except two boys. The power told me, "When you get old, you can tell about the ceremony." That is why I tell you this.

In another account two children, "a girl about seven years old and a boy a little bigger," acquire power.

[1] See p. 192.

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756 778 787 mother). E. lost his power over twenty years ago. Maybe he misused it. Maybe the power didn't want to use him any more. When they don't get any response from the power during prayer or the ceremony, they know the power has gone. If things are working well, a shaman will get a response to prayer; he will hear a voice. . . . . I know many people here who used to be shamans but are not now. If power begins to weaken, nothing can be done about it; it just goes and can't be kept strong.

Another informant, however, felt that waning power might be restored to the shaman:

Any shaman, even if he has had strong power that spoke to him, may feel that it has deserted him. Then he goes out to a lonely place and calls on his power. [788] He puts pollen on his forehead and chest and prays. He never tells what he says to his power, but it may come back to him then.

756 778 424 796 *The transmission of ceremony.*—It is also possible to gain supernatural power and a ceremony by learning it from another. How can the transfer of power be reconciled with the emphasis laid on the close association of the shaman with the power that has spoken to him? No inconsistency is involved; these two basic methods of acquiring ceremonies have been skilfully blended in theory and practice. To the question, "Could a man go to one who had power and learn his power from him?" an elderly informant replied:

That is hard. Wind said to lightning, "See that mountain over there. If I want, I can split it in two pieces." Lightning answered him, "I also can split that mountain in two pieces." They both had power to do the same thing, but the power of the wind is not the power of the lightning. Neither is one man's power the power of another man.

Still, if you go to an old man and this old man teaches you the observances over and over, and if the man's supernatural power is pleased with you, you can obtain the power that the old man has. But if the source of the old man's power does not want you, nothing you can do will help. The old man goes out alone and asks his power, and, if it is pleased, pollen is put in your mouth. Then, no matter how many songs there are, you learn them all without difficulty.

He [the shaman] does not lose power by sharing it. But he usually does not share it until he is too old to practice much longer or is going to quit.

The same subject is treated in another statement:

Many of the ceremonies are passed along. They go from father to son and from one relative to another, although they can go to those who aren't relatives too. About half the ceremonies in use are got in this way. But even if a person wants to learn the power and the shaman is willing to teach him, often he cannot

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remember the prayers. When a man is handing down power, if the one he is teaching cannot learn the prayers and the rest of the ceremony in four days, it is a sign that power does not want to come to him. But if the man learns easily, he is the type of person for the work, it shows. It is not a thing that the shaman has entire say about. He must consult the power, the source from which he gets his ceremony. The shaman chooses, but it must please the power.

Of the final act of the transfer, it was said:

He told us we would have to stay up with him for four nights and learn it. Then the last night, the last thing he will do is to put pollen in our mouths four times, and the fourth time the power will come to us.

Since the power could have rejected him, the student feels that he has been approved. The power, pleased with the new incumbent, appears to him, speaks to him, and performs all the services for him that it rendered his instructor. One who has learned a ceremony, if he is a more forceful and religiously minded person, may actually come to know the power better than his predecessor.

Sometimes the shaman who teaches another his ceremony does not insist on payment. More often, some payment is required or, nevertheless, proffered. In learning some ceremonies, the person "in training" must submit during the period of instruction to certain food and behavior restrictions. "If the new shaman does not follow the rules laid down by his instructor, he will lose the power."

There is no obligation to accept instruction from a shaman who is eager to give it. "I was approached by a man a long time ago who wanted to transfer his power to me. I told him, 'No, I am afraid of it.' Sometimes a person will want to hand down a ceremony, but no one will take it because it is so dangerous."

Personality differences of shamans.—Some individuals are definitely "ceremonial people." They claim the right to conduct a number of rituals obtained by personal vision experience, by instruction, or in both ways. "R. has all sorts of power in different ways; he's just full of it," was a remark made of one man. Of another great shaman, his son said:

My father knew Goose, Bear, Wolf, Lightning, and many other things. When he received his power, the last man in the cave [holy power home] said, "All these are under you."

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dian ghost is fatal, but to see a white man's ghost makes you very sick, and you see white men all the time. . . . . Before the Americans came, we had Mexican ghost sickness a lot, especially when we took guns from them.

Unlike the Chiricahua ghost, the white man's ghost does not utilize the body of the owl to further its designs. [825]

Bat, gopher, turtle.—The danger from the bat derives from its bite: 825

If a bat bites you, you had better never ride a horse any more. All the Chiricahua say that. If you do ride a horse after being bitten, you are just as good as dead. [761]

B. never rode, because if a bat bites you, you shouldn't ride a horse. He never got into a buggy or an auto either. He would walk for miles.

To touch the gopher or to be bitten by it can cause illness. "In 1886 I shot a gopher. I thought it was dead, but it wasn't and it bit me. My arm swelled up, and it looked like gopher holes were in it. The Chiricahua say the gopher is bad. You can get sick from it." 825 753

An indication that the ordinary man hesitates to touch the turtle was obtained: "My people were afraid of the turtle and wouldn't touch it. Only a man who got power from it would handle it." 825 [778]

Red ant, vinegarroon, black water beetle, centipede.—A number of insects are considered dangerous, and among these are the red ants:

They say you can get sick from ants in the same way you can from the coyote [i.e., as a result of its inherent evil influence]. On some people, when the ants sting the hands, they swell up. Mine don't. They bite me, and it hurts a little but never swells up. There are songs and a regular ceremony for ants. . . . . All Chiricahua children are taught not to urinate into an anthill. [753] [533] [796] [863]

One of the most feared insects is the vinegarroon: 825 753

K. is suffering from a peculiar Indian disease. It comes from an insect bite, from the bite of the vinegarroon. The disease is marked by a circle of red dots around the body from the point where the person is bitten. In K.'s case he has such a row of dots running around his chest. If these dots meet and form a complete circle around the body, the person dies. K. has been having several people sing for him. [761]

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755 773 776 By the ceremony of the Mountain Spirits the boys are restored to bodily perfection and are returned to their parents.

773 776 Another story tells of the flight of a man from a large force of traditional enemies. He runs, praying, toward a place known to be a home of the Mountain People. At his appeal, Mountain Spirits swarm from the cliff wall, surround the enemy, and drive them into a cave which then closes upon them. This myth emphasizes the protective role of the Mountain People who guard the tribal territory and defend the people from enemies and disease.

756 796 798 535 688 773 Another tale calls attention to the care which must be exercised during the masked-dancer ceremony and indicates the prominent place of the clown in the ritual. A shaman informs the people that he is going to paint masked dancers at a mountain far from the camps. He advises everyone, except the dancers and those who will assist him in preparing them, to stay on the flats below. Particularly does he warn parents to keep their children away from the place, and he reminds his hearers that they are not to call the names of the dancers when the performance begins. A little girl creeps up to the forbidden site, nevertheless, and mentions the name of an impersonator when the dancing starts. The shaman, immediately aware of what has occurred, tries to intercede for her with the Mountain People and finally conceals her under the fire. Soon Mountain Spirits come and displace their impersonators. On each of the first three nights a [776] [522] Mountain Spirit of a different color vainly leads the search for the miscreant. On the fourth night Long Nose or Gray One, the clown, heads the line and succeeds. For her impiety the girl is slain.

773 776 784 535 Another myth stresses the penalty for disrespect toward the Mountain Spirits and suggests the association between the masked-dancer rite and ceremonial defense against epidemics. Masked dancers are joined by two mysterious strangers who are superlative performers. The people seek to learn their identity. After the dance of the fourth night, riders stationed on swift horses pursue the two strangers. But the fastest mounts are outdistanced, a rock wall opens to receive the runners, and

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the mortals realize that they have pursued actual Mountain Spirits. "Not long after that disease broke out among them and killed many of them."

776 538 [195]

The Mountain Spirits are held in such fear and reverence that those who have no ceremony from them are hesitant even to discuss them. One man explained, "I'm not supposed to tell stories about the Mountain Spirits because it is dangerous for me," and another said: "In order to use another word besides Mountain Spirit in the stories, a term 'man from the mountains,' is used. This is put in the story a few times to show that the Mountain Spirits are held in awe and to prevent harm befalling the teller."

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Masked-dancer ceremonies, though they may be later taught to others, always originate in a personal supernatural experience. The following account is a good example of the type.

My father is a shaman. He got his ceremony when he was a young man. It was this way. You know that Guadalupe Mountain over here. It is a religious mountain, a holy mountain. My father says that this place is the home of Mountain People. He says a spirit came to him and told him to go into that mountain. Someone talked to him, but he did not see anyone. It was outside the mountain that something, or someone, told him to enter. That was the first time anything had spoken to him; he was getting his first power.

When he thought he heard a voice telling him to go into the cliff, he turned around and started to enter the mountain. The cliff opened like a door. He says that the clown met him at the door. The clown said, "Follow me," and they came to the first outside door. Near by was a great rock turning around and around. They call it by a name that means "rock that swings around together." My father says he was frightened, but the clown told him, "Don't be afraid. You must go through four doors, all different. Don't be frightened because the rock is acting this way." Then he said, "Sh! Sh!" pointing his forefinger at the rock, and the rock stopped. He told my father to follow him. They went on.

They came to the second door. There were two great snakes there, twisting and squirming, and biting at each other. They were guarding the door. They were not really biting each other, just trying to. They were not allowing anyone to pass. The clown said, "Do not be afraid of them." The clown went ahead, and my father was close behind. The clown said again, "Sh! Sh!" pointing his forefinger at the snakes, and the snakes stopped twisting and biting.

So they passed the snakes and went on to the next door, the third door. Here there were two big mountain lions, one on either side of the door. They were trying to keep everyone from going through that door. They had their mouths open and when they saw my father they were just wild. The clown said, "You must not be afraid; they are not going to hurt you." The clown went on ahead,

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and when he came to the mountain lions, he again pointed his finger, saying, "Sh! Sh!" and they quieted down. My father and the clown went through the door.

Then came the fourth door. There was nobody in there at the door. All these doors were rock. At the fourth door the guide again repeated, "Sh! Sh!" and the door opened. When my father got into the fourth room, it was just as if he were in high mountains.

After the last door had opened, my father looked about a hundred feet away. There was one old man sitting over there. The guide said, "That man is going to talk to you now, and you want to be very careful. He is the leader in this place. We are going to walk right up there, and he is going to ask you some questions in a rough voice, but don't be afraid. Now he sees you coming with me."

So they started to walk up to that old man. He was sitting in a big chair in an open place. He was an old, old man, with garments over his head and all around him. The clown told my father, "When I take you up there I am going to leave you, and he will talk to you. Don't be afraid. He is a kind man."

The clown and my father reached this old man. Then the clown said, "Ready!" and disappeared. This left my father standing there alone before that man, and that old man sat up looking angry. My father was standing right in front of him.

Then the old man said to my father, "What do you want in here? You have no business in here." Then my father was frightened. "You tell me what you want. You are not allowed in here; humans from outside are not allowed in here."

But my father said, "I want to live long in this world, and I want to be blessed. I want to live to be an old man."

"All right, you mean it, do you? You think you are going to be afraid?"

My father said, "I will try not to be afraid; that is not what I am looking for. I am looking for something good for myself and for my children, so that they will have some blessings. I have wanted to go into some holy place like this one I am in now. Will you help me?"

The old man said, "All right. I have talked roughly to you, but I will do what you say. I am a kind man. I have control of this whole mountain." Then my father says he saw some hills all around there.

The conversation went along like this with my father and the old man. "What kind of power do you want?" the old man asked him. "I have some very strict rules, so strict that if you fail, you are going to die. They will harm you, and if you fail them you are going to lose your life or some of your family. I tell you that beforehand. What kind of a shaman do you want to be?"

My father answered, "I can't tell unless I see what you will give me." He wanted to be shown.

The old man said, "You just wait a minute."

Then he got up. He could hardly get up; he was a very old, old man. He walked behind a little hill in there. He came back and took his seat. Then my

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father said he could hear things ringing, drums, and singing just like the masked dancers dancing—Apache drums and singing. He heard it in the east as if many dancers were coming. And then they came in from the east, the clown leading them. Many Indians dressed in buckskin and Mountain People came, dancing. Then they stopped right where he was. All kinds of birds, animals, and snakes came behind the Mountain People.

The old man told him, "These are the ceremonies I have here. Which do you want? Pick out the one you want and don't make a mistake."

When the old man finished speaking, my father said, it seemed that it was the privilege of those animals and Mountain People to say what they wanted to him. One little bird came up to my father and said to him, "I am the greatest power on earth; take me." Then the eagle came up and said, "I am the greatest power here; take me." Then the animals came up, also the snakes, and said the same thing.

My father says he thought of it from the beginning, of how the old man said not to make any mistake. So my father turned around and thought, "These little birds are too willing, and these others are too willing. There are some others sitting over there. I must not make a mistake."

He saw that the Mountain Spirits were the leading ones in there. So my father hesitated and thought, "Well, the clown and the Mountain Spirits haven't said anything to me."

They came around with a drum, with turquoise and a pollen cross on the drum. "The clown and Mountain Spirits say nothing, but they are good," my father thought. So my father turned to the old man and said, "I will take the Mountain Spirits."

That is the way it is today. Just as soon as he chose the Mountain Spirits, all the rest were ordered to go back. Just the Mountain Spirits were left. After all the birds, snakes, and animals were gone, there came many Indians, all dressed just like Chiricahua Apache. They started singing. My father has told me, "I was going through the performance. I got all the songs and designs. For four days I made masked dancers with a different design every day on each one." My father was learning the ceremony.

The old man said to him then, "You have done well. You did not make a mistake. I was watching you. The birds, animals, and snakes asked you to choose them, but you did right to choose the Mountain Spirits. They are the most powerful, the best thing here. Now you are going to stay here and have a good time for four days."

My father says that after this the Indians gathered, and they began to dance just as they do at the girl's puberty ceremony. White Painted Woman ran just as the girls do now. So my father in four days learned the whole thing. My father called the mountain "Holy Mountain." He says that he gets messages from these people whenever he holds his ceremony. When he wants to know how to cure a man, they come and tell him. He says they talk. He stayed another four days and four nights there.

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After four days the old man asked him, "Do you have what you want?" My father said, "Yes."

He said, "You didn't make any mistake."

My father answered, "I hope not."

The old man explained, "This is a good thing for you. The Mountain People will take care of you all your life. You can hand the ceremony down to anyone you want to. You can do anything you like. If the ceremony is given to your child, you will not have to ask for any ceremonial gifts; but if it is passed on to other people, then you can ask for gifts. But if you love someone else, you can hand it down to that one without gifts."

The Mountain People gave him directions. "You cannot sing these songs for nothing." So today my father is hard to convince on that.

After the four days, when this old man had told him he had what he wanted, the Mountain Spirits had all gone. Then the clown came. The old man ordered the clown back. The old man told my father, "That is all. I am through with you. Everything is all right. I hope you have a long life in this world. You may go home and use the ceremony according to what the Mountain People want you to do."

The clown had to take my father back through the mountain. They had to come back through those doors. They came again to the big mountain lions. The clown said, "Sh! Sh!" and told my father to come right behind him. They returned to the snakes. The snakes tried to stop them. The clown said, "Sh! Sh!" and then told my father to come right behind him. Then they reached the last door, that great rock swinging around and around. The clown stopped there and said to the rock, "Sh! Sh!" and to my father, "You come right behind me." And they went through. Then they came to the cliff. The clown said, "Sh! Sh!" again, and the whole thing opened like a door. The clown started to walk down the steep bluff. He said, "You must come behind me." My father says when he first went up there the spirit lifted him up suddenly, but now he had to follow the clown down or stay where he was. He did not think he could walk down the cliff but he followed the clown, and they walked down easily.

The clown said, "Here are four things I am going to give you." He gave him a little eagle feather, a very fine feather, and said, "This is one." He held something in his hand and said, "This is a small round turquoise with a hole in it. That makes two." He put the feather through the turquoise. He said, "If you are going to sing for a sick boy, the parents of the boy or his other relatives must give you a turquoise with an eagle feather like this. If he really wants to get well and believes in you, he must also give you a live thing, a horse or a cow, or anything you want, but it must be alive. The turquoise and eagle feather are used only in curing men and boys. The other gifts, which girls and women must give you, are the changing abalone and pollen. They must be tied in this way: the pollen must be in a little buckskin bag, and the string must be put through the hole in the abalone and tied in this way."

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755 and he tells me that I must follow certain rules. For instance, for a headache I
756 must not put a knife in a cooking pot.[*] If I violate the rule, the disease will come back on me again. Or he may tell me to have the door of my house to the east. If I don't do this, if I violate this rule, the Mountain People will know whether I have done this or not, and the disease will come back to me.

It is up to the sick man to make gifts, anything he wants to give. After the fourth time the sick man is taken back to his own camp. In cases where the feather drops or the abalone drops, after the shaman leaves the man, he will keep on praying until the man gets well anyway.

[535] A Mountain Spirit shaman can also perform his rite without any dancers. If there is a sudden emergency, if the full ceremony would be too costly for his patient, or if he cannot find enough dancers, he uses only the headdresses which the dancers customarily wear, placing them against the body of his patient and gesticulating with them to the directions to send the sickness away.

731 Many ceremonies cure the sickness of individuals, but the pre-
751 vention of epidemics is a signal function of the masked-dancer
535 rite. "When I hear of disease coming, I paint them and tell them
789 to chase the disease away with the sticks," said a Mountain
796 Spirit shaman. "When sickness is around, the masked dancers and the clown are made on a hill and then come to the people below, making fires on the way down. In this way they keep sickness away."

[522] It is at such times that the clown, who merely acts as messen-
[881] ger and funmaker at the girl's puberty rite, may come into his own:

The old man always told us that the clown was the most powerful of the masked dancers. He said, "People think that the clown is just nothing, that he is just for fun. That is not so. When I make other masked dancers, and they do not set things right or can't find out something, I make that clown and he never fails." Many people who know about these things say that the clown is the most powerful.

At times of danger or epidemic another masked dancer, Black One, is sometimes made:

There are different grades of masked dancers. There is the clown, and he is dangerous. Then there is Black One, and he is supposed to be very dangerous. Black One wears nothing but feathers on top of his mask. He is painted black.

[252] [*] There is a general prohibition against stirring food with a knife.
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He does not make a noise like the other masked dancers and does not mix with the others. Any others that touch him will be harmed. Just one is made. He wears juniper boughs on his arms. Sometimes he carries sticks.

The one who is dressed to stand for Black One does not have the wooden frame above the buckskin face mask. He just has feathers in a bunch at the top of the mask. He wears a buckskin mask, all black. He is colored black all over. He carries spruce in his hands, and spruce is tied to each arm too. He wears a skirt of woven yucca which comes down long. He doesn't dance. Black One is just made for something bad, to keep everything bad away.

All three types of masked dancer may appear in the same ceremony to stave off epidemics:

It was during the World War when the "flu" was first coming this way. D. called all the people together. He was going to keep it away. He made the regular masked dancers and also Gray One [clown] and Black One. He wanted to pick out the best man for Black One. He tried to pick me out, but I said, "I don't know the ways of Black One, and I might make a mistake, and things might not turn out right." So I was one of the regular masked dancers instead. S. and I were the regular masked dancers, and R.'s boy was Black One.

The people were very quiet when this was going on. They said that we were two of the best dancers ever seen. We had a good clown there. He said, "You fellows certainly put on a good dance." Black One said he saw nothing but fruit and flowers around the fire, so D. said, "*All is well.*"

D. told the people then, "Don't say anything bad about this sickness. Don't mention it, or it will come back."

For a while no one died. Then someone mentioned it, and the sickness began to come again. D. took us up on a high hill. The wind was blowing dust from the east. D. pointed to it and said, "That wind is bringing sickness back. I'm certainly sorry, but I can't help it. I told you about it. I warned you of it. Now it's too late." And it was true. The sickness came back, and many died. F. made his masked dancers, but it did no good.

This sickness died down. Then it came a second time. The second time it came, D. did not make his masked dancers. He didn't make Black One or any of them. He said, "All of you were safe. There was no sickness. I helped you. I told you what to do. But now it's coming back. I can't stop it."

When the sickness was on its way the first time and D. made his masked dancers, I went over to his camp. Many were camping around his place. He had his masked dancers there, and the people stayed around the masked dancers and marked them with pollen. All these people camping around him kept well.

In this ceremony it was Black One through whom the Mountain People transmitted their message. But this is not always the case. Most often it is the leader or one of the members of the [787]

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731 regular masked-dancer group who receives the word of the super-
751 naturals.
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789 Some men when they dance say they see visions from the singing and praying
796 of the shaman. I never did. I never saw a thing. Y. did though. It was in 1903
787 down at Fort Sill. There was smallpox. Lots of Indians were dying. We danced for four nights, from four in the afternoon until one or two at night. That was the hardest work I ever did. And you know, we never got that smallpox! It was all around. The Comanches had it. They were dying in Lawton, but we never got a case.

When the old man painted us he said, "Now one of you men is going to see a vision. I don't know which one it will be, but it will be one of you." I doubted it. I was a fool in those days. I didn't care. I just danced for a good time. Y. was the leader.

I watched Y. when he got the vision. This was the first night. The old man said someone would get it that night. We started out to dance at about four o'clock in the afternoon. The old man said it would have to be started while the sun was still up. There was a big crowd; Comanches, everyone was there. They put pollen on us dancers. We started dancing. We had to do what the old man told us. We had to go four times this way and that, and around the people. I was watching Y. He began going fast, shaking, running out to the woods and back.

About three hours later we rested for a while. We were smoking. Y. said, "Fellows, the old man said someone was going to see a vision, and I saw it. But *that's all I'm going to tell you. I'm going to tell it to the old man, and if he wants* to tell it to you, all right." Later I heard him tell the old man something, and the old man said, "That's good!"

731 Masked-dancer ceremonies conducted for the public good are
751 usually undertaken in response to requests from a number of
535 people: "We asked R. to put on a ceremony for us, but he is too
789 weak. So another man and I have been trying to get F. to make
796 masked dancers for a long time. He did it the other day."

A number of protective masked-dancer rites have taken place in recent years. One, held to prevent the penetration of sleeping sickness, is described by a man who attended it.

Yesterday F. held his ceremony to keep away sleeping sickness. I didn't feel so good when I came back yesterday, so I went over. I thought that perhaps F.'s masked dancers would help me. The masked dancers performed once in the day and once in the night. He painted four regular masked dancers and two clowns.

The grounds were fixed this way: there were four spruce trees set up, one in each direction, and a fire was built in the center. To start the fire, they first put up the sticks like a tepee. The singers came in from the south and went around

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
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the fire clockwise four times. Then they took a place to the east of the spruce, facing the sunrise. Then F., the shaman, went around the fire once. Then he called to the masked dancers, "Now it's your turn." 731 751 535

They came in from the east and advanced to the fire and back four times. On the fourth time they gave their call. They did the same thing from every direction. Then they went around the fire four times, then around the outside of the trees four times. After that they came in from the east and stood in a single file facing the fire. Then F. told the people to paint the masked dancers. It took a long time. The dancers knelt so the children could reach them, putting their sticks on the ground. 789 796

This started about one o'clock in the afternoon. The night ceremony lasted until morning. Later F. gave a little talk. He said that he didn't think the sickness was going to spread this far but that it was best to make the ceremony to make sure anyway.

The masked dancers not only act to keep illness away but "they can find out what the trouble is when people are sick." If witchcraft is discovered, the impersonators may have to expose the sorcerers. "The dancers should not point with their sticks at the spectators unless the shaman tells them to look for an evildoer. Then they point him out. Usually the leader of the dance group is used for this." 535 755 754

Even the control of the weather is not beyond their function. On several occasions when the performance of the masked dancers at the girl's puberty rite was threatened by stormy weather, I have seen the shaman gesture to the directions with a headdress in order to drive the clouds away. 535 789 821

A myth tells of the freeing of animals from the subterranean land where they were kept by Crow. There is the present belief, perhaps a corollary to this, in "animal homes," places within caves or mountains where the game is hidden. An example will indicate the type of "animal home" story that is common. 825 [793]

About eight or nine years ago there was a big snow at Whitetail. E. was hunting deer over there. He was on horseback. A deer jumped in front of him, and he started after it. He saw it disappear in a cave. Then he came on and met us. He told us, "The old people tell us that the animals come from caves in the mountains, and I believe them now." He told us the story of the deer he had chased.

Two others went to that cave with him. They followed the trail and found a hole there. They dropped a stone, and it sounded as though that hole were very

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
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825 deep, so they came back. People tell of homes of the mountain sheep like this too. They see the holes and the trails of the sheep going to them. I have heard of homes of animals in Hot Springs country too.

825 773 776 In this tale and in many others there is no attempt to link the animal home with the Mountain People, but in a description of the place where the first moccasin game was played there is a hint of such a nexus. "At the bottom of this mountain is a hole, a cave. In there the Mountain People live. Inside, it is about eight feet square. There is nothing but deer tracks there. The ground moves there."

It is evident from some descriptions of the Mountain People that they are considered not only the denizens of a given mountain but also the custodians of the wild life ranging in the vicinity. Often the power-acquisition stories have the "holy homes" of the Mountain People richly populated with game animals. The most unequivocal statement on this subject came from an Eastern Chiricahua who said:

> All the animals, horses, sheep, come from the mountains. The Mountain People keep them. They take them in at night sometimes and let them out to graze here on earth during the day. R. killed a big buck here. It was cut [castrated]. That shows that the Mountain People make steers too.

776 782 [778] Anyone who is in the vicinity of a home of the Mountain People, whether he has power from them or not, sprinkles pollen toward the holy place and prays, "Protect us from enemies and do not let harm befall us while we are near you." Those who are in need are advised to appeal to the Mountain People: "A man who made masked dancers said, 'Any time you are in trouble or in danger from animals, pray to the Mountain People, and they will come from the mountains and protect you.'"

776 782 796 *Life Giver, Child of the Water, and White Painted Woman.*—The nebulous and remote Supreme Being is definitely not the source of any particular ceremony:

> If a man felt that he was having bad luck, he might go out and ask Life Giver to help him. A man might get a ceremony of some kind at such a time in answer to his prayer, or he might just be helped out of his present trouble. If he gets a ceremony that will help him right along, that ceremony will come from some other source, like lightning or an animal, and not directly from Life Giver. But his prayer to Life Giver starts it.

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When a person has a special ceremony, from Lightning, for instance, he will pray directly to Lightning and will not call on Life Giver. But many feel that Life Giver is answering through this other source. Life Giver is an old conception.[11] The very old Indians pray this way. Some old Indians who don't know the first thing about Christianity the way the preacher speaks of it, pray this way. . . . . We think of Life Giver as a spirit of no particular sex. We do not attribute deeds to Life Giver. No pollen would be thrown to Life Giver.

Child of the Water figures prominently in religious traditions and ritual. However, it is believed that his work was largely completed when he departed from earth. Though he once busied himself prodigiously with the affairs of man, now he is almost a sky-god, magnificent and rather remote. Occasionally, someone believes that Child of the Water has "talked" to him. One informant was certain that this supernatural was reaching him through the medium of dreams, for instance.

For ceremonial purposes White Painted Woman is the feminine counterpart of Child of the Water, and the time of her direct impingement upon worldly affairs, too, is at an end. Perhaps the most important use of this supernatural in rites now is a symbolic one. For instance, in a certain lightning ceremony the earth is referred to as White Painted Woman. This symbolism proves to be a dramatization of the legend of the birth of the culture hero. Just as lightning strikes the earth today, so White Painted Woman lay down "while the lightning flashed four times and acted as a man to beget Child of the Water. This is why the three are connected, and to this day White Painted Woman is mentioned in the lightning ceremony."

The ideological association between the earth and White Painted Woman is found in more than one context. "In any

[11] Despite this insistence on the antiquity of the conception of Life Giver, a good guess would be that the present position of this deity is a response to European doctrine. The word that has been translated Life Giver can be literally rendered "the one because of which I live." The individual still refers to his personal supernatural power source by that same linguistic form or a slight variant of it. Life Giver is apparently a symbolization of supernatural power as such, the reservoir from which particular power grants and ceremonies flow. The European influence in this greater personalization of diffuse supernatural power can be inferred from the synonyms for Life Giver, which are Yusn (from the Spanish *Dios*) and "He Sits in the Sky."

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Then they came to the story where Coyote tells his mother-in-law to put her arm in the log after the rabbit because her arm is longer. Right there E. caught him. He jumped up. He cursed and said, "You just talk about me all the time!" 538 522

The old man laughed. "What's the matter? Why do you get mad? Was it you? Are you that Coyote?"

E. was so mad he walked out. The old man called after him, "You must have been that Coyote."

It was surely funny to watch E. try to catch the old man at it. The old man sat there whittling. Just as soon as E. looked away, he'd motion with two fingers and say, "I guess it's this one," and when E. would look up, there the old man would be, whittling away as before.

SMOKING

Smoking adds to the pleasure and relaxation when old tales are recounted. Before the distribution of trader's supplies, tobacco was very scarce. Consequently, it was used mostly for ceremonial purposes and was looked upon as a great luxury on social occasions. Boys were counseled not to smoke until after the training period, and it was thought unbecoming for women under middle age to use tobacco, except as ritual might demand it. The source and use of the wild tobacco are described as follows: 276 [796]

Before the white man's tobacco came in, the Chiricahua found their tobacco out in the woods or out in the Arizona plains. It grows in reddish soil. It is a low plant, and you cannot find a great deal of it together. The plants have white and yellow flowers and long narrow leaves, about four inches wide or less. It doesn't grow everywhere but just in certain places, and it is therefore hard to get. We pick it and let it dry out in the sun. Some sprinkle mescal juice on it and then let it dry. This wild tobacco is milder than the present tobacco we get. Often this tobacco is used with other plants. Sumac leaves are picked, dried, crushed, and put with it, and sage is too. [824]

The tobacco we found was called "big tobacco." It was used for social purposes as well as for ceremony. It was passed around at private gatherings or at story-telling. But it was not so common. You just saw it here and there, because it was so scarce. Boys were not allowed to smoke, and just old women were allowed to smoke. When we fought Mexicans we took their tobacco. When the white man's tobacco first came in, it was pretty scarce. If you had a good horse, you would give it for one cigarette of the white or Mexican kind. [435]

In the old way, when the tobacco is ready, they crumble it up. They use the leaf of the oak for a cigarette paper. They take the fresh leaf in summer, but sometimes they carry them in a bundle, one on top of the other. Every now and then they wet the leaves to keep them in shape. And they get cornhusks that they use. Many times I've seen old men sitting on the sunny side of the camps [824]

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
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MESCALERO

Not uncommonly the Mescalero women, too, wore leggings and braided (but did not wrap) her hair. The Chiricahua woman wore no leggings. Her hair was gathered at the back of the head, tied there, and covered with a decorated form of hour-glass shape. The Mescalero plucked the eyebrows, a practice which the Chiricahua never followed. 184 302 [291]

The tendency of the Mescalero to draw inspiration from the Plains is observable in many other aspects of the culture, particularly in the war complex. The round, rawhide shield was of more frequent occurrence among the Mescalero than among the Chiricahua. The Mescalero always made a designed buckskin cover for the shield, whereas the Chiricahua shield lacked a buckskin cover more often than not, the decoration being painted directly upon the rawhide. The trailing feather headdress is associated with Mescalero war practices but it is not to be found for the Chiricahua. The same differentiation may be observed for scalping. While the Mescalero warrior was by no means as interested in scalping as his Plains counterpart, he had distinctly more feeling for the practice than did the Chiricahua. Upon the return of a successful war party, it was an integral part of the celebration for the Mescalero fighters to relate the character of their exploits and for their fellow warriors to bear witness to their bravery and veracity. This usage was unknown to Chiricahua warfare. 177 184 714 177 184 727

It seems patent that the essential divergences between Chiricahua and Mescalero cultures can be defined in terms of the eastern position of the latter which made possible contact and association with the buffalo-hunting tribes of the southern plains. Even in matters ceremonial this criterion proves sound. The sole major variation between Mescalero and Chiricahua ritual life is that the Mescalero carried on peyote ceremonies and the Chiricahua did not. Since the greatest development of the peyote cults occurred among the Plains tribes and their immediate neighbors, this tribal difference can likewise be laid to geographical position. 177 184 177 184 796 276

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
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534 For musical instruments these Apache used the drum, the animal-hoof rattle, the musical bow, the flageolet, and a curious one-stringed fiddle made from the flowering stalk [276] of sotol which may be of Spanish origin. In their peyote rite [796] the Mescaleros accompanied their songs with the gourd rattle.

411 In addition to the shield and the bow and arrow, which have already been mentioned, the Mescalero and Chiricahua fought with spears, slings, flint knives, and war clubs of a number of types. Quivers, bow covers, and wrist-guards were other material items belonging to the war complex.

433 That these people made cradle-boards, fire drills, parfleches, skin tipis, and cloths and blankets of buckskin and animal hides has already been indicated. Water transporta-
501 tion was solved by the construction of a crude bull-boat or raft-like structure.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

596 The tribe, band, and local group have already been described. The remaining social segment is the extended domestic family, which served as the basic economic unit. Such an extended family would be housed in a cluster of individual dwellings and would ideally consist in an older married couple, their unmarried children, their married daughters, the sons-in-law, and the issue of these. As can be in- [591] ferred from this, residence was matrilocal. All the cooking [252] for the members of this family group was carried on at one [606] place by the mother and her daughters, and the latter subsequently took portions of the prepared food to their husbands and children, for a mother-in-law—son-in-law avoid- [476] ance was in effect. Whenever there was work to be done which involved the labor of more than one person, the men or women of this extended family, according to the nature of the task, assisted each other in its execution.

584 Marriage was arranged between the older kin of the man and woman involved, usually at the instigation of the young man, who, with the approval of his own relatives,

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
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Agriculture has never exerted influence enough to figure in Chiricahua or Mescalero Apache ritual, belief or myth except in one instance, where there is an association between the growing crop and the cricket. Crickets are placed around the field and prayers are addressed to them to help the crops grow. The Mescalero put a live cricket with the seed to be planted and take care not to kill a cricket lest their crops be reduced.

Informants reported that their maize was blue and red mixed and that they never had either pure yellow or pure blue varieties. Samples of maize grown at present on the Mescalero reservation are mixed blue and white. Also in an old parfleche purchased from a Mescalero Indian were found dried maize kernels which were represented by informants as the type grown formerly by the Mescalero. Mr. Volney Jones, of the Ethnobiological Laboratory of the University of Michigan, reporting by correspondence upon these grains said: "It is of a type which is grown by some of the Pueblo Indians but is very much smaller. The type is intermediate between flint and dent, having the flinty or hard consistency of flint corn but the grain shape of dent corn with only a slight tendency to dent."

Maize was usually cooked like mescal, in an underground oven, by the Mescalero. Wood was first burned to hot ashes in the pit, then the whole ears were sprinkled with water and thrown in. They were next covered with grass and dirt and cooked over night, after which they were removed and stored, husk and all, and did not mould. When desired for a meal the ears were boiled and were said to taste like fresh maize.

Another method of preparation was to roast the ears as described above, cut off the grains, and dry them, and store them in sacks until ready for use. The Chiricahua informants claimed that they did not roast maize in underground ovens although they saw the Navahos do it.

Maize was also dried on the cob. All except two husks were removed. Then it was dried in the sun by tying these two husks together and hanging the ears up on strings or on trees.

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
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It is not generally known that the Mescalero Apache (not the Chiricahua) ate peyote. They are not represented on Shonle's *(26)* map of the distribution of the use of peyote in the United States nor are they listed in the booklet compiled under the authority of the Bureau of Indian Affairs *(17)*. Opler *(22)* has shown, however, that the Mescalero Apache once practiced elaborate ceremonies centering around the utilization of peyote and he has gathered considerable data from former peyote eaters regarding the details of these rites and their place in the religious life of the tribe.

One of our informers said: "I ate it once in Oklahoma four or five years ago. I ate five ('buttons') my first time. It sure tasted strong. A man put eagle feathers over me and said, 'Go on and eat.' I did. I ate one at a time. They were bigger than the ones you have. They were green yet. One man ate 106 of them." The alkaloid of the plants affects the eyes and produces trances in which one has fantastic and colorful visions *(26:1)* but it is neither intoxicating nor habit forming. These Apache also claim that if the hairs from the plant get into your eyes they destroy the eyesight. Details concerning chemical composition and physiological and psychological effects of peyote are given in a bulletin by the office of Indian Affairs *(23)*.

The small, red fruits of the turkey or coyote cactus *(Opuntia leptocaulis)*, known among the Spanish-Americans as *tasajulla* and *garrambulo*, are still used by being crushed and mixed with *tulbai*. They are reported as having such pronounced narcotic effects that the Indians will not walk close to plants which bear them, and they claim that eating a single fruit will make one "drunk and dizzy."

These Apache do not now and apparently never have used Jimson weed *(Datura meteloides)*, or any other species of the genus, as a narcotic.

3:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1946
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out. They had pollen and said, 'Stick your tongue out. We'll cross your tongue with pollen and then anything you say you want to happen to a person, like wanting him to be killed, will happen that way.' I said, 'Go away, leave me alone! I'm a poor man. If it doesn't do good for my people, I don't want it.' I refused it, and they all opened the door and went out. But the next day the door was locked." [3]

He said, "That's why a witch will say, 'All right, if I'm a witch, find it. Take it out and I'll admit it.' You'd have to take his tongue out. You can't find it on him, but it's there."

That's what he told me, but I doubt that he refused it. Some say he is a witch. Everybody knows his father was a witch.[4]

2. *The Leader Who Refused to Sacrifice a Man to His Power*

This is a story of the early days. This man was a great warrior. I've forgotten his name; my father knows it; all the old men do. This man was a great shaman in the right way, otherwise he would not have done what he did. This man was leading man of the warriors. He had charge of a big group of them. He seemed to know through his power what was going to happen.

One time his power said, "In a day or so you are going to get into action against the enemy. I have helped you in many ways with beneficial power; now you have to do it the way I want it. I want the bravest man in your group. I want you to give that man to me to be killed." [5]

[3] Pollen, epecially pollen of the tule, is much used by the Chiricahua in ceremonial contexts. The cross, symbolizing the four directions, also appears frequently. Power, either for good or evil, may be accepted or rejected by the individual approached. Witches are usually charged with using material objects, such as the bones and hair of the dead, in their nefarious enterprises.

[4] This man was most indiscreet to admit that evil power had been offered to him. Witches and witchcraft are so generally and irrationally feared that even to hint of exposure to such temptation may make his friends and relatives uneasy and suspicious. If public opinion ever turns against him, his account may be distorted and used to his disadvantage.

[5] To control much supernatural power is not always an unmixed blessing, the Chiricahua believe, for power, after helping a shaman for an extended

3:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1946
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The seventh night when Dick got back to his camp he got after his power. The power said, "Don't get after me for a little thing. I know what's the matter with him. I know what to do for him. He's all right. He's not going away. His power put him in trouble. He can keep that or throw it away, but he can also have me if he wants to, and he and you can practice this ceremony and do good among your people."

Then on that seventh night Dick studied it and sent his power that night. Then they saw Tuisga sitting up. He was much better. They called for Dick. He knew what it was. When he came into the house he marked the house with pollen, marked the people present, and marked Tuisga.[11] At daybreak Tuisga was lifted up by the power.

While this was being done Dick was praying. He prayed and prayed and said, "All present, don't become frightened. You'll see something with your eyes." Then from high up you could hear something falling. It came from the sunrise and hit the roof. The house trembled.[12] They heard an object hit on the south side. The house moved. Then from the west side an object fell. The house seemed to quiver. Then from the north side, and they thought the roof was coming off this time. All were quietly praying.

Then Dick did something else. He asked that flour gravy be brought and given to this man. Tuisga was very hungry and weak. He hadn't eaten for sixteen days.

"Now," said Dick, "I'm going to sing one song with four verses, and everybody is going to dance whether he likes it or not.[13] And you women can call when you hear White-Painted Woman and Child-of-the-Water mentioned at the first verse.[14]

[11] Pollen, usually obtained from the cattail tule and symbolizing health, growth, and vitality, was a most sacred substance for the Chiricahua and was omnipresent in ceremonies. Marking the patient, the people, and the place with pollen is an act of blessing and purification.

[12] The Chiricahua Apache ceremonial circuit is sunwise, beginning with the east, the most important ritual direction.

[13] The dance may function as a prayer in Chiricahua ceremonialism.

[14] The ceremonial call of the women is a high-pitched ululating cry.

4:Opler E-5 (1931-1937) 1947
NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
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787 778 right up to them and talk. You and I can't see it or hear it, but they can. Like in one ceremony I saw: the shaman said in one place, "Everything is light. I see a big light." He saw it, but it was a pitch-dark night, and we couldn't see a thing.

771 778 756 791 182 The Chiricahua, like all people who have developed a religious system, have had, in spite of the religious safeguards which they affirm, to recognize the existence of failure, danger, death, and evil. They account for them by a theory of the plasticity and duality of power. Thus hateful individuals may employ complacent power for malevolent rather than kindly ends. Or the personified source of the power may itself be represented as malicious and may lead weak-willed shamans into dubious practices by deceit, threats, and promises. Therefore it is necessary to be constantly wary of cleverly veiled evil power (sorcery) and of ceremonialists (witches) who are not above using their rituals to harm, betray, or cause illness. Consequently, a substantial part [796] of Chiricahua ceremonialism, perhaps its most dramatic aspect, is the contest with supernatural power between the shamans and the sorcerers. Sometimes a shaman who controls one type of supernatural power, who has been granted a ceremony from a natural force or a heavenly body, for instance, may be suspicious of rituals from contrasting sources, such as the animals of the earth. These views are exemplified in the excerpts which follow:

I came to know that power is not good or bad of itself. It is just power. It can be used for good or evil. It all depends on the person who has it. Look at the power from the Mountain [796] People. (The Mountain People are mountain-dwelling super- 532 naturals who guard the Chiricahua and their territory from 535 harm. They are impersonated by masked dancers.) The [881] Mountain People are good. They help the Chiricahua. We have them at the girl's puberty rite. But they can, to the Chiricahua mind, be used for evil too. A good many people think X. is a witch and uses Mountain Spirit power for evil. A good many people will not go through that Mountain Spirit ceremony of his. When it is going on, they get pretty far in the back; they are taking no chances. But there are others who think it is all right, who go through with it and consider X. a shaman.

4:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1947
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There are many kinds of ceremonies, but the real ceremonies are those which deal with the heavenly bodies and forces, like lightning. Ceremonies that pertain to this earth are false, and there is too much of a penalty in holding on to them. They make you pay out something in the end. I consider all ceremonies like those coming from Bear and Horse to be of this earth. Evil power uses the animal as an instrument and gives visions through it. To have an animal appear to a man and speak with him is not a good way. I think that evil represents itself through these animals. The powers of earth are easily learned by any kind of a person; these powers are not particular.

(See also *An Apache Life-Way*, pp. 208–9.)

Power can be obtained through a personal supernatural experience or, once obtained in this way, it can be perpetuated by the process of instruction and transfer.

A person who wants power does not have to go out alone, fast, or torture himself to induce the power to speak to him. The power speaks to him without any effort on his part. Or this person might ask a shaman to teach him his ceremony. He may get friendly with a shaman and then ask him if he will teach him his songs. Then the shaman "gives" him the songs and prayers. Or someone with power may offer to teach that power to him. These are the three common ways a man might get power.

The transfer of a ceremony is by no means a mechanical matter only. It can be accomplished only with the approval and assistance of the power source concerned.

A ceremony is usually transferred to a son, daughter, or other close relative. But the power has to be consulted before the transfer of a ceremony. If power is satisfied, it is all right. If the person isn't fit for it, the power refuses. This is shown by the fact that the man cannot learn the songs and keep in mind what to do. If the power is willing to have the transfer made, the man will learn the ceremony in less than four days.

Often a shaman, when he is very old, becomes eager to have his

4:Opler E-5 (1931-1937) 1947
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796 424 son or other close relative learn and carry on his ritual. Not infrequently, however, these kinsmen are uninterested in the rite, and a more ardent candidate is found among outsiders.

My father has been begging my brother to take it (the father's ceremony). My brother has been taking it (over) a little; he has been practicing with the old man and helping him. The old man begged E. (another son) and me to do it too. . . . The old man wants us to take over his ceremony. He said to us, "I want you boys to have it. All you'll have to give me is one steer. I paid a lot more for it when I got it myself." [435]

796 424 787 535 532 [955] I tried to give it (a masked dancer ceremony) to my grandsons, but they didn't want it. They didn't care much for it. Then E. was sick. He appealed to me for help. He asked if the Mountain Spirits could help him in any way. I told him, "Act as one of my masked dancers and perhaps it will help you." He danced and got well. Then later Mountain Spirits appeared to E. in a dream. They were dressed and designed like my masked dancers. He told me about it. I knew what it was for. I told him, "Well, you can use the outfits with me and carry the ceremony on." Then E. saw in a vision that the Mountain People wanted him to have the ceremony, so I turned it over to him. He took it very seriously. He now knows the songs and has the right to carry on the ceremony. It took him four days to learn it. He learned the songs thoroughly again in a dream after he was taught them by me. He has full rights now. Both he and I have the (masked dancer) outfits now; both of us use them. We do not make two sets of masked dancers but share in the making of one set. But he could do it all alone now. I do not even have to be present.

(See also *An Apache Life-Way*, pp. 210–11.)

787 778 [796] When a ceremony is acquired through a personal supernatural experience, it is the power or power source that usually takes the initiative, though the individual approached has the right to reject the offer if he sees fit. This is apparent from the following discussion of the manner in which a young man is prepared for a vision experience.

Perhaps some day you will be out alone. Something will talk to

4:Opler E-5 (1931-1937) 1947
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Chiricahua

These staffs figure in ceremonies. The shaman is directed how to make them by his power. They may be decorated with feathers or with something pertaining to the ceremony of the one who makes it, perhaps a snake or lightning. They vary in size.

A shaman can hear from the power through the turquoise and feather. When the shaman prays he uses the feather. If the feather raises itself, he knows the prayer is heard. If the turquoise moves, it is the same.

(See also *An Apache Life-Way*, pp. 260–61.)

The shaman makes certain that any spectators at the ceremony he conducts are reverent and well-behaved. Not infrequently there are special obligations which remind the on-looker of the solemnity of the occasion. About these insistences, a younger, socially-minded Chiricahua explained:

> It was pretty hard for us younger people to attend. There are always restrictions on everyone who is there. For some ceremonies you can't leave before it is all over for that evening; for some you can't sleep. So we didn't care so much to be at these curing ceremonies. But we always went to the girl's puberty rite, for you could always have a good time there.

(See also *An Apache Life-Way*, p. 259.)

The source of power, speaking through the shaman, usually places some food or behavior restriction on the patient. Failure to observe this is construed as carelessness or levity in respect to the rite and is likely to lead to a relapse. Many of the failures to cure permanently are explained in this way. Some of the most common post-ritual restrictions are summarized in these statements:

> The shaman has his reasons. He doesn't always tell the patients why, but he tells them to keep the paint (which has been applied during the ceremony) on for so many days before taking it off.